

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/E:KPGARLAND:CJ  
APPROVED BY AF:RMMOOSE  
AF:WCHARROP  
S/S-O: SESTEINER

-----004513 231753Z /47

O R 231735Z DEC 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA NIACT IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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EXDIS; FOR CHARGE FROM DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ET, US

SUBJECT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE CALLS IN AMB. AYALEW  
REF: ADDIS CRITIC FOLLOWUP

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1. ASSISTANT SECRETARY AFRICAN AFFAIRS MOOSE CALLED  
IN ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR TO DISCUSS EVOLVING US/ETHIO-  
PIAN RELATIONS. MOOSE INFORMED AMBASSADOR OF CHARGE'S  
MEETING WITH FONMIN (REFTEL). WHILE NOTING THAT HE DID  
NOT HAVE A FULL REPORT, MOOSE STATED HE WANTED TO DISCUSS  
FELLEKE'S CHARGES THAT OUR ACTIONS ON AIRLIFT AND CODEL'S  
STATEMENTS WERE SYSTEMATICALLY LEADING TO DETERIORA-  
TION IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP.

2. IN CRITICIZING SOVIET AIRLIFT, MOOSE OBSERVED,

WE WERE NOT CHALLENGING ETHIOPIA'S RIGHT TO DEFEND HERSELF. WE HAVE OFTEN EXPRESSED OUR SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. WHEN WE BECAME AWARE OF THE NUMBER OF SOVIET FLIGHTS INTO ETHIOPIA, WE ATTEMPTED TO AVOID MAKING A GREAT ISSUE OUT OF IT. IT IS TRUE THAT, UPON BEING ASKED BY THE PRESS CORPS, WE RESPONDED, BUT IN A MINIMAL WAY CONSIDERING WHAT WE KNEW. ONE REASON WE DOWNPLAYED ANY CRITICISM OF THE AIRLIFT WAS THAT WE DID NOT THINK ANY STRONG CRITICISM WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO THE EFFORT TO FIND PEACE. WE ARE CONCERNED THAT A PEACEFUL

NEGOTIATED SOLUTION BE FOUND AS WE DO NOT THINK A MILITARY SOLUTION IS POSSIBLE FOR THIS LONG-STANDING HISTORICAL PROBLEM. ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER WILL ALWAYS BE SEEKING AN ADVANTAGE. ACCORDINGLY, WE STRONGLY SUPPORT OAU MEDIATION EFFORTS AND CRITICIZE THE SOVIET AIRLIFT AS IT ENCOURAGES A MILITARY SOLUTION.

3. MOOSE NOTED THAT WE WERE ADHERING TO OUR POLICY OF NOT FURNISHING ARMS TO ANY OF THE PARTIES TO THE OGADEN CONFLICT. WE HAVE ALSO REFRAINED FROM ANY THIRD COUNTRY TRANSFERS OF US-ORIGIN MILITARY ITEMS AND HAVE FORCEFULLY BROUGHT CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH TRANSFERS TO ATTENTION OF  
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POTENTIAL SUPPLIERS OF EITHER ETHIOPIA OR SOMALIA. MOOSE ADDED THAT, HARD AS IT MAY BE FOR ETHIOPIANS TO BELIEVE, SOME SOMALIS BELIEVE WE ARE ASSISTING ETHIOPIA THROUGH SUCH TRANSFERS.

4. ASSISTANT SECRETARY STATED WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE DE-ESCALATION, NOT ESCALATION IN THE HORN. IF CUBAN OR SOVIET ADVISERS BECOME INVOLVED IN THE CONFLICT, THIS WOULD MAKE OAU MEDIATION EFFORT ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT. WE HAVE ADVISED THE SOMALIS TO COOPERATE WITH OAU MEDIATION AND TO GIVE SERIOUS THOUGHT TO COMPROMISE THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE IN NEGOTIATIONS. HAD OUR RELATIONS WITH ETHIOPIA BEEN SUCH THAT WE FELT WE COULD HAVE GIVEN ETHIOPIA ADVICE, WE WOULD HAVE TOLD EPMG SAME THING. IN SUM, MOOSE STATED, OUR POSITION IS TO STAY OUT OF THE CONFLICT AND WE HAVE SO STATED IN PUBLIC.

5. ALLUDING TO ETHIOPIAN CRITICISM OF CODEL REMARKS, MOOSE NOTED THAT UNDER US SYSTEM CONGRESSMEN DO NOT SPEAK FOR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH, BUT ONLY FOR THEMSELVES. FOREIGN POLICY IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND IS SO RECOGNIZED IN INTERNATIONAL USAGE. HE ADDED THAT IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THE BODIES WERE IN THE STREET AS ON DISPLAY AT THE TIME CODEL WAS THERE. THEY WERE SHOCKED AS MOST AMERICANS WOULD BE. THEIR PRIVATE STATEMENT IS SYMBOLIC OF CONCERN FOR HUMAN LIFE AND DUE PROCESS WHICH IS FELT DEEPLY HERE AND WHICH USG HAS OFTEN

EXPRESSED TO EPMG.

6. MOOSE THEN GAVE AYALEW COPY OF PRESS GUIDANCE PREPARED IN DEPT DEC 22 (SEPTTEL). WHILE NOTING THAT IT WAS NOT IN ANY WAY AN OFFICIAL DOCUMENT, MOOSE SAID IT WAS USEFUL SUMMARY OF CONVERSATION TO THIS POINT. AFTER READING IT, AMBASSADOR AYALEW NOTED IT REFERRED TO US-ORIGIN MILITARY ITEMS BUT THAT PROBLEM WAS SUPPLY

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TO SOMALIA BY THIRD COUNTRIES OF ITEMS NOT OF US ORIGIN. MOOSE SAID THAT THIS OCCURS BUT WAS NOT UNDER OUR CONTROL. HE ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT WE HAVE INFORMED MANY OF THE COUNTRIES AIDING SOMALIA OF OUR BELIEF THAT FURNISHING ARMS TO EITHER COMBATANT DOES NOT AID SEARCH FOR PEACE AS IT REINFORCES DESIRE FOR MILITARY SOLUTION.

7. NOTING THAT WE HAVE FOLLOWED CAREFUL POLICY OF RESTRAINT TOWARD ETHIOPIA AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO, MOOSE OBSERVED THAT THIS IS BECOMING MORE DIFFICULT AS CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC BECOME AWARE OF THE GROWING SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA. WHILE NOT MEANING THIS AS THREAT OR VEILED WARNING, MOOSE WANTED EPMG TO KNOW WE INTEND MAINTAIN OUR POLICY DESPITE DOMESTIC CRITICISM. AN EXAMPLE OF SUCH CRITICISM AROSE AT NOON PRESS BRIEFING TODAY OVER ISSUE OF DOLS 2 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO EPMG TRUST FUND FOR DISASTER ASSISTANCE TRUCK FLEET. WE WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, ALTHOUGH POSSIBLY ON A REDUCED LEVEL, EVEN THOUGH IT NECESSITATES SPENDING MUCH TIME EXPLAINING TO CONGRESS WHY WE WANT TO, GIVEN MILITARY SITUATION IN ETHIOPIA AND THEIR HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS. HE CONCLUDED THAT WE WANTED TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS, WERE HAPPY WITH AMBASSADOR AYALEW'S APPOINTMENT HERE, AND WERE ON THE VERGE OF NAMING A NEW AMBASSADOR TO HEAD OUR MISSION IN ADDIS ABABA.

8. AMBASSADOR AYALEW EXPRESSED CONTENT THAT WE WERE ABOUT TO NAME AN AMBASSADOR TO ETHIOPIA AND NOTED HIS TASK WOULD BE DIFFICULT JUST AS AYALEW'S WAS HERE. HE NOTED HE HAD COME HERE TO SALVAGE WHAT HE COULD OF US/ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS AND IMPROVE THEM WHERE POSSIBLE. HE NOTED HE SENT CABLE HOME STRONGLY SUPPORTING CODEL VISIT IN SPITE OF POSSIBLE EMBARRASMENTS SHOULD SOMETHING UPSETTING HAPPEN

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WHILE THEY WERE IN ADDIS. HE THEN STATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD ROLE OF CONGRESS AND PRESS--"WHICH IS NEVER REALLY INDEPENDENT"--IN THIS COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT ALL PLAY ROLE ALONG WITH EXECUTIVE IN FORMING FOREIGNER'S JUDGMENT

OF WHAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS. HE HAD HEARD PRESIDENT CARTER'S AND NOW ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE'S ASSURANCES OF US RESPECT FOR ETHIOPIAN TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BUT HAD ALSO HEARD AND READ OF CONCERN OF MANY OVER EXTENT OF ARMS GOING INTO ETHIOPIA. AS ETHIOPIA MUST BE ARMED TO DEFEND ITS TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, HE CONSIDERED THESE OBSERVATIONS CONTRADICTORY. AMBASSADOR THEN QUOTED A WASHINGTON POST STORY WHICH SURMISED THAT A SOVIET BUILDUP IN THE OGADEN SHOULD CAUSE US TO ACT. HIS POINT WAS THAT HE WOULD TAKE NOT ONLY EXECUTIVE BRANCH'S WORD AS TO WHAT US FOREIGN POLICY WAS BUT WOULD FACTOR IN EDITORIAL AND CONGRESSIONAL VIEWPOINTS AS WELL.

9. AYALEW AGREED WITH MOOSE THAT US COULD HAVE MADE A BIGGER ISSUE OUT OF THE AIRLIFT HAD WE SO DESIRED. HE ASKED US TO UNDERSTAND DIFFICULT TIME IN HISTORY ETHIOPIA NOW TRAVERSING. HE ACKNOWLEDGED HOW SENSITIVE QUESTION OF CUBANS IN COMBAT WAS. AMBASSADOR NOTED HE READ SUCH REPORTS WHEN HE WAS DEFENSE MINISTER AND KNEW THEY WERE NOT TRUE THEN AS THEY ARE NOT NOW. HE COMPLAINED THAT WE HAVE MENTIONED TO SOME OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES THAT SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS WERE NOT BEING HANDLED BY ETHIOPIANS. STRESSING ETHIOPIAN TRADITIONAL EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING, HE MENTIONED THAT ETHIOPIANS WOULD OPERATE EQUIPMENT. FORMER MIN DEF SAID HE SENT 600-700 MILITARY PERSONNEL TO USSR FOR ADVANCED TRAINING IN PREPARATION FOR THIS BUILDUP. WHILE ETHIOPIA HAS MANY FOREIGN ADVISERS TODAY, AS IS ONLY LOGICAL WITH EXPANSION OF ARMY, THEY ARE NOT IN COMBAT BUT JUST THERE FOR TRAINING PURPOSES. HE CONCLUDED THAT WE WOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO COMPLAIN IF RUSSIANS OR CUBANS WERE PULLING TRIGGERS BUT THEY ARE SECRET

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NOT.

10. ETHIOPIA CANNOT NEGOTIATE, AYALEW CONTINUED, WHILE SOMEONE OCCUPYING HER TERRITORY. HE STATED BELIEF THAT REVOLUTION HAS OPENED UP NEW VISTAS FOR SETTLEMENT OF LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS LIKE OGADEN AND ERITREA, BUT SAID TERRITORY MUST BE FREED FIRST. AMBASSADOR AGAIN PLEADED FOR UNDERSTANDING OF REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN ADDIS AND NOTED ETHIOPIANS TOO WORRY ABOUT THE KILLINGS WHICH ARE OCCURRING.

II. MOOSE NOTED HE APPRECIATED AMBASSADOR'S FRANKNESS AND SAID THEY MUST CONVERSE MORE OFTEN. HE NOTED USG APPROVED OF MANY OF EPMG GOALS AND REFORMS--MANY OF WHICH WE ONCE URGED ON EMPEROR--BUT WAS CONCERNED WITH METHODS OF IMPLEMENTATION. ASSISTANT SECRETARY ADDED IT WOULD BE GOOD THING IF ENDURING SOLUTION COULD BE FOUND TO OGADEN CRISIS SO AS TO NEUTRALIZE THIS HISTORIC PROBLEM. HE INVITED AMBASSADOR TO INFORM US IF HE OR HIS GOVERNMENT

THOUGHT OF SOME WAY WE COULD HELP GET NEGOTIATIONS GOING.

12. AS CORDIAL, ONE HOUR MEETING ENDED, MOOSE NOTED THAT THERE IS A HISTORY OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR PEOPLES WHICH WE COULD BUILD ON. IT IS OUR HOPE TO MAINTAIN OUR RELATIONS SO AS TO BE ABLE TO DO SO. IN THAT RESPECT, IF US DID REALLY FEEL ENMITY TOWARD ETHIOPIA AS SOME ETHIOPIANS

APPARENTLY FEEL WE DO, THERE ARE MANY THINGS WE COULD HAVE DONE QUITE DIFFERENTLY. WHILE ETHIOPIANS MIGHT HAVE PREFERRED THAT WE HAD DONE SOME THINGS OR NOT DONE OTHERS, THEY MUST ADMIT THAT WE HAD NOT TAKEN THE HOSTILE ACTS WE COULD HAVE IF WE WISHED ETHIOPIA ILL. WE COULD HAVE, FOR INSTANCE, SIMPLY SUPPORTED SOMALIA. MOOSE  
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CONCLUDED THAT WE ARE SOMETIMES CRITICAL OF ETHIOPIA BUT HAVE NOT BEEN HOSTILE TO THAT COUNTRY. VANCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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